

R E P L Y

TO A

MINISTERIAL PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED

"CONSIDERATIONS"

"Upon the State of Public Affairs in the year 1799,
 "Ireland."

K

 BY A PHILANTHROPIST.

"In attacks upon a free state, every man will fight to defend it, because
 every man has something to defend in it.—When blessings are gone, it is
 madness to think that any man will spill his blood for him who took them
 away."

Cato's Letters.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Writer of the following pages presents them with diffidence to the Public, conscious of its many imperfections resulting from the want of ability, and want of leisure. His motives are honest, his intentions are virtuous, and his most anxious wish is to promote the happiness of mankind in general, and of his countrymen in particular. Many parts of the *Ministerial Pamphlet* remain unanswered; but as the Replyer desires only to guard his brethren from the delusions of sophistry and the deceptions of falsehood, he thinks it unnecessary to swell his work to an enormous bulk; and if he has sufficiently exposed the artifices used by the Author of the "Considerations," to caution the well-meaning part of his countrymen, his endeavours will have been crowned with success.

A R E P L Y, &c.

A LATE publication, entitled, "*Considerations upon the State of Public Affairs in the year 1799, in Ireland,*" as the work of an unauthorized individual like myself, I should conceive to be completely beneath my attention; but as the production of a *confidential ministerialist*, I think it the duty of an honest Irishman to offer some remarks on the performance. Viewing it merely in the light of a combination of weak misrepresentations, puerile conceits, and groundless assertions, I despise the fabrication; but regarding it as a work published under the auspices of Government, and circulated industriously as the composition of a nobleman *said* to be well acquainted with the affairs of this country, I feel an anxiety to contradict what I think scarcely worthy of refutation. I cannot avoid considering this pamphlet as by far the most absurd and irrational of the many which have been written to enlighten the *poor ignorant Irish*, in regard to the advantageous alterations inseparable from the measure of a Legislative Union with Great Britain. Where the author intends to excite admiration, he attracts only ridicule; where he means to raise resentment, he occasions only contempt; and where he endeavours to disunite the different sects of Irishmen, he only strengthens the bonds of affinity and affection.

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tion. I am astonished at the ignorance of human nature in general, and of the *Irish nature* in particular, which is evinced throughout the whole of this elaborate performance; and I know not whether to admire most, the folly of him who composed, or the weakness of those who distributed this work with an intention of demonstrating the propriety, advantage, and necessity of that measure. The innumerable absurdities and incongruities of language and of style, perceptible in every paragraph, as matters of comparatively small importance, I shall pass by unnoticed; and, leaving the *manner* unmolested, confine my observations to the *matter*.

Sorry indeed am I to confess that the British Minister had not any cause to fear "on the part of Ireland a just opposition or national dislike to the measure:" it is long since he has met with any thing either *just* or *rational* amongst those with whom he has been connected in this "*devoted land*," and he had therefore but too much reason to expect that he would be supported, as usual, with the most eager subserviency (by the powerful men of this country) in every plan he might wish to introduce for the purpose of subjugating and impoverishing a nation which he fears and detests. But at length he has discovered his mistake; he has found that even amongst the friends to British connexion, there are enemies to British usurpation; and he knows that amongst the most loyal men in the kingdom, there are individuals who possess sufficient spirit and virtue to oppose his pernicious innovations.

The confusion of style observable in the "*Considerations*,"

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 derations," renders it a difficult matter to follow the author's train of reasoning; but when he attempts to prove (or rather insinuates an assertion) that "the final settlement of 1782" has been productive of all the recent calamities which have convulsed this island, it is hardly possible to suppress emotions of risibility at the absurdity of the fiction. He might as well attempt to persuade us that "the final settlement of 1782" had occasioned the French revolution, or the conquest of Egypt; and, in the event of this Legislative Union taking place, I should not be surprized if such a writer were gravely to inform us, that the next naval victory of a Duncan or a Nelson was entirely produced by the success of that "*glorious measure*." The *astounding greatness of mind* which dictated this plan is so far above the comprehension of *ignorant Irishmen*, that they must be pardoned for not bestowing on it that degree of admiration which it claims: indeed the majority of them are silly enough to imagine that a few trivial concessions * (such as *Catholic emancipation, abolition of tithes, &c. &c.*) more adapted to the level of their weak and uncultivated minds, would contribute more towards the tranquillization of their country than the overwhelming benefit which would probably prove to Hibernia such a favour as did the Sabine bucklers to Tarpia,

* What did the whole power of Spain do against a few revolted provinces, when all the people were enraged by oppression? How many armies were lost? How many millions foolishly squandered, to recover by force, what *a few just concessions* would have done at once?

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 217.

It is almost unnecessary, in this country, to declare that the noble author mistakes most egregiously, when he asserts that the measure of a Legislative Union was rejected in the Irish House of Commons because "it was supposed to contain something humiliating to the pride and dignity of Ireland," and I must be excused for saying that I suspect this misrepresentation, and many others, have been designedly inserted for the purpose of deceiving those unprejudiced inquirers who may not have the opportunities requisite for obtaining accurate information. However, lest the noble author should happen to be really misinformed in this respect, I must tell him, that the insulted dignity of the Irish nation was merely a secondary consideration; and that the House of Commons rejected the *beneficent* offer because they were convinced that the measure must be accompanied by destruction to themselves, their families, their posterity, their properties, and their country. They knew that if it were advantageous, it would never have been offered; and they also knew that had the intentions of Ministers been honest, it would never have been introduced in a manner so insidious, and at a time so improper. It is probable that many members of that house (amongst whom are some of the best informed and most enlightened men of the nation) had long since considered and weighed the advantages attendant on such a plan, by which they discovered the impossibility that any modification of a Legislative Union could ever prove beneficial to this country, unless such as would be injurious to Great Britain. Instead, therefore, of shunning the discussion

discussion of this question, lest it should "expose the people to the temptation and danger of overlooking the affront, in the utility of the measure," they shunned it because they feared that the palpable injustice of the attempt, might rouse the sinking spirit of revolt, and rekindle the dormant flames of disaffection. However insignificant an unsuccessful rebellion may appear in the eyes of British Ministers, it is by no means an unimportant event in the contemplation of men, whose persons and properties are exposed to destruction in the conflict; and it is very natural that such men should be anxious to prevent any debate from which those detrimental consequences were likely to result.

I have scarcely patience to strip the mask from the weak imposture of this work, and can hardly suppose that the flimsy covering is capable of concealing from the most superficial observer, the deformity of the changeling's countenance. The attempt to throw up a new barrier between rich and poor, Protestant and Catholic, speakers of English and speakers of Irish, is equally futile and absurd. It is not by telling the Protestants that they are a race of foreigners, British settlers, the usurpers of a tract of land; it is not by telling the Catholics that they are the natives of the country, the rightful possessors, the antient inhabitants; that the noble author (or ten thousand similar to the noble author) could disunite the real patriots of Ireland; and it will require very little knowledge of the state of this country, to prove that it is a base misrepresentation; for we cannot forget that among the most servile

servile adherents of British oppression, several are the lineal descendants and bear the once honorable names of Irish chieftains, and that some of the warmest and noblest defenders of the rights and liberties of Erin, are among the posterity of usurpers!!! In fact, the descendants of the various nations which have at various times settled in this island, are now so blended together that it would be impossible, except amongst a very few families, to determine which had most Scythian, which most Spanish, which most Danish, and which most British blood in their veins. In my opinion the man who has now the best title to the appellation of *Irishman*, is the inhabitant who loves his countrymen, who promotes the prosperity and who respects *the independence of Ireland*. If we are to believe antient writers on this subject, we have reason to suppose that formerly no people were so completely Irish, as those immediately descended from English settlers; and Spencer (who appears to be almost as much prejudiced against an Irishman or a Papist, as even the noble author) says expressly of the English colonists, that "some of them are degenerated, and "grown mere Irish; yea, and more malicious to the "English, than the Irish themselves." In another place he says, "the rest which dwelt in Connaught "and in Mounster, which is the sweetest soil of Ireland, and some in Leinster and Ulster, are degenerate; yea, and some of them have quite shaken "off the English names, and put on Irish, that they "might be altogether Irish." In another place he says, that some "did quite cast off both their Eng-
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"lish name and allegiance: since which time they
 "have so remained still, and have since been count-
 "ed mere Irish. The very like is also reported of the
 "Mack-swynes, Mac-mahones, and Mac-shehies
 "of Mounster, how they likewise were anciently
 "English, and the old followers to the Earl of Des-
 "mond, until the reign of King Edward the Fourth:
 "at which time the Earl of Desmond that then
 "was, called Thomas, being through false subor-
 "nation (as they say) of the Queen, for some of-
 "fence by her against him conceived, brought to
 "his death at Tredagh most unjustly, notwithstanding
 "that he was a very good and sound subject to
 "the King; thereupon all his kinsmen of the Ge-
 "rardines, which then was a mighty family in
 "Mounster, in revenge of that huge wrong, rose
 "into arms against the King, and utterly renounced
 "and forsook all obedience to the Crown of Eng-
 "land; to whom the said Mac-swines, Mac-shehies,
 "and Mac-mahones, being then servants and fol-
 "lowers, did the like, and have ever since so
 "continued. And with them (they say) all the peo-
 "ple of Mounster went out, and many other of
 "them which were English, thenceforth joined with
 "the Irish against the King, and termed themselves
 "very Irish, taking on them Irish habits and cus-
 "toms, which could never since be clean wiped
 "away; but the contagion hath remained still
 "amongst their posterities.
 ". . . Other great houses there be of the Eng-
 "lish in Ireland, which through licentious convers-
 "ing with the Irish, or marrying, or fostering with
 "them,

“them, or lack of meet nurture, or other such unhappy occasions, have degenerated from their ancient dignities.” In this passage there are two things deserving of the noble author’s attention; first the early *degenerateness* of the English colony, and secondly the cause which impelled the Geraldines and so many other families to become “mere Irish.” It appears as if there was in Ireland a peculiar proneness to affiliate the descendants of colonists, and as observations of this nature have been so frequently made at different times, it is much to be feared that there is something pestilential in the air, which occasions this extraordinary insanity; and as no antidote of sufficient strength to protect the multitude, has yet been discovered, I must recommend to the noble author and his English friends to shun this contagious air, and to import into their civilized land all the inhabitants of this isle who prefer *British Fraternity* to *Irish Independence*.

I should wish to be informed how many hundred years the noble author supposes it necessary for a race of people to inhabit a country, before they can acquire the appellation of natives; whether Ireland requires a longer residence to bestow this title than other lands, and (in the case of an island being peopled in different parts by colonies from different nations) which part of the country is supposed to appertain to the rightful inhabitants? The noble author would be much surprised if the inhabitants of Wales were to denominate the inhabitants of England a colony of usurpers, or if the people of France were to pretend to a power over Great Britain,

tain, because that many hundred years ago some of the natives of that country invaded and planted colonies in the island; and were any Welch or French pamphleteers to hazard such an assertion, the English would very justly consider them as eligible inhabitants of Bedlam. The noble author will (I believe) confess that what he calls the "English colony," has been settled in Ireland rather longer than the inhabitants of North America in their portion of the Western world; and yet he allows to the latter their appropriate appellation. It appears as if he intended to reproach the Irish settlers for not having long since employed the same exertions for Liberty, which bestowed a name, a character, and a constitution on the American settlers: but the noble author should recollect, that nations will endure very numerous and severe oppressions, before they will have recourse to the violent operations of Revolution; and probably had America been very little less oppressed, it would remain at this day a dependent province of Great Britain. It is difficult to produce, and easy to prevent, Revolutions; but there is a degree of tyranny which no nation can endure. Men seldom fight about the forms or names of Government—for let the form be ever so imperfect, or the name ever so offensive, "make the people happy, and you may make them loyal.*"

* Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland.

Whilst men enjoy protection, plenty and happiness, they will always desire to continue them, and never look after Revolutions; therefore, whoever would endeavour to preserve a present establishment, must make the people easy and contented under it, and to find their own account in the continuance of it.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 86.

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For my own part, supposing that I were to consider hereditary monarchs in the abstract as ridiculous as ever did Thomas Paine, yet I could idolize a King, whose mild and judicious administration bestowed on his subjects rational liberty and virtuous happiness: and though a Republican form of government should be thought in theory the best calculated to promote the morality and felicity of a state, I should glory in the subversion of one, which under that name, had proved itself vicious and tyrannical.*

I lament the noble author's difficulty in understanding that barbarous term, *Ireland*; and lest he should misconceive my meaning, when I happen to make use of the vulgar appellation in the course of the following pages, I shall briefly inform him, that when I mention this savage word, I mean to signify an island† (sometimes called *Hibernia*, *Innisfail*, or *Erin*,) surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean, *which separates it from every other land*; temperate, fertile and salubrious; blessed with the finest bays and most commodious harbours in the known world; particularly adapted for commerce and independence; peopled by a numerous, healthy and courageous race, who are (like the inhabitants of most other countries) composed of the descendants of va-

* All governments, under whatsoever form they are administered, ought to be administered for the good of society; and when they are otherwise administered, they cease to be government, and become usurpation.

Cato's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 41.

† I do not mean to insinuate any doubt of the noble author's geographical knowledge; but as local circumstances always affect the national character of a people, I mention the country with its inhabitants.

rious colonies from various nations, and amongst whom are some bad men and many good, some fools and many wise, some servile dispositions and many independent characters. The inhabitants may be at this time divided into three parts—the British faction, the moderate loyalists, and the advocates for revolution. The former, which is the smallest party, comprizes an host of placemen, pensioners, and expectants; tyrannical fools, bigoted Protestants, and that sort of men* who are ready to become the partizans of any nation or government who pays highly. The second division comprehends all those who, from well grounded apprehensions of anarchy, are attached to the existing establishment; all the friends of moderate reform; the independent members of both Houses of Parliament; most of the opulent Roman Catholics; many mercantile men, and private gentlemen of fortune. The third party is composed of a great many persons of brilliant abilities, enthusiastic tempers, and small fortunes; several men of independent property; a large proportion of the middling class, and the majority of the lower classes of every denomination. This portion of the population of the country, is at least equal (if not superior) in number, to the moderate party; but I fear that most of the higher classes are engulphed in the small party first mentioned. Indeed,

* Those who would sacrifice their duty to their interest; and unconcerned what becomes of the rest of mankind, would promote tyranny, if they might but shine in its trappings.

excepting a very few individuals, our men* of high rank and large fortune, are creatures whose hearts are contracted, whose minds are vulgarized, and whose morals are depraved. But (thank God!) there are many virtuous characters in Ireland; and it is *an island* which all the ardent wishes of the noble author and his testy partizans, will never unite to the British shore, nor "precipitate to the bottom of the ocean."

This author seems to suppose that by endeavouring to persuade the Irish Protestants that they are a dependent colony, he will induce them to become such in reality; but however these artifices may deceive the timid, the mercenary, and the mean, they are too shallow to impose on the persons whom he wishes to cajole. If there were none but Papists, mere Irishmen and descendants from Irish septs, concerned in the late conspiracy, I shall be satisfied to resign my reason into the hands of English pamphleteers, to believe only their creeds, and to see only with their eyes: but if it is possible to prove that in this plot were implicated a proportionate number of Protestants, descendants from mere English, and the posterity of British colonists, I shall continue to credit my own senses, to adhere to my own faith, and to trust my own reason, weak

* Educated in idleness, debauchery, and ignorance; taught to believe that greatness consists in pride, insolence and extravagance; and so, for the most part, want every qualification proper to adorn their characters. . . . At last their necessities make them submit to a paltry pension; and, instead of being the generous assertors of public liberty, they become the mean and humble instruments of power.

and Irish as it is. The unhappy distinctions which have too long subsisted amongst the inhabitants of this island, are recapitulated in this insidious yet absurd pamphlet, with a base intention of renewing those differences which have been so frequently and so unfortunately roused by similar endeavours; but it is to be hoped that we are now completely aware of those malicious attempts, and that Protestants, Catholics and Dissenters, will join in forming an invincible phalanx to defend the expiring independence of their country. My Countrymen! ye who first drew breath in this persecuted land! ye who inhale the native air of Ireland! let not the arts of those who weep not for your sorrows, who rejoice not in your blessings, disunite you. *Remember that you are brethren*, and in your attachment to peace, your abhorrence of tumult, and your detestation of anarchy, *forget not that you are Irishmen!*

The noble author talks of *awakening the British colony* (by which, I suppose, he means the placemen and pensioners, the suckers of Irish blood, and the scoffers at Irish patriotism) and I sincerely wish that some of the noble author's partizans had taken the trouble of *awakening* him, before he attempted to write on Irish affairs; as it is very evident that when he entered on the subject, he was unfortunately under the impression of some terrific dream, or had just shaken off a Popish Incubus. It is to this cause alone that I can ascribe the wild idea of a *Catholic Republic*, so repeatedly mentioned in the course of this contemptible production. It is well known that universal toleration was one of the principal
objects

objects of the reforming conspirators, so that it will be impossible to connect them with the Papists, by the chain of "Catholic Republic;" a whim which must have arisen in the inflated brain of a porter-puffed Englishman, as it certainly cannot be of Irish growth.

The noble author has no need to apologize for any of his insults. That which excites contempt will not occasion resentment; and his *fancies* (or whatever else he pleases to call them) must only be despised: for, as I have before declared, it is the *authority* and not the *work* which claims attention. I would not stop to contradict the impudent, invidious, and false assertions, respecting the non-antiquity of this island, but that it is possible that these pages may be read by Irishmen so ignorant of the history of their native land, as to be induced to give credit to these groundless allegations. For, to the shame of Ireland I must acknowledge, that it has been too much the custom to neglect instructing our youth in the annals of that country, respecting which they ought to be particularly interested; and even where it is thought proper to give them any information respecting Irish history, it is merely* the books written by bigoted Protestants and prejudiced Englishmen that they are permitted to peruse. I must be pardoned for digressing to make some observations on a subject which is of much importance to real Irishmen. Amongst the numerous causes which

* Such as Temple's account of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, in which we have *affidavits* (relative to *Protestant ghosts* shrieking for vengeance against their *Papist murderers*;) similar to that of *Mr. Richard Grandy* on a late occasion.

have combined to render this noble island completely subservient to the views of British Ministers, is the system of education which has been (with very few exceptions) adopted by the higher classes of its inhabitants. One of the first ideas implanted in the youthful minds is a contempt for the land they ought to love; and one of the first principles inculcated, is that of a profound respect for English manners, English customs, and English persons, be they ever so inelegant, vicious, and contemptible. No education is considered so unfashionable, no language so discordant, no accent so vulgar, as the Irish. The natural consequences of those early prejudices are tyranny, disgust, and expatriation. Some unworthy sons of Hibernia cannot even be persuaded that the lower class in their native country are possessed of the common capacities of other peasants; and some of the partizans of British insolence even go so far as to declare, that nothing but extermination and new colonization can render Ireland a suitable habitation for enlightened men: but (thanks to the all-powerful Being who surrounded our country with the ocean!) the number of those who support this detestable opinion is very insignificant, and those few are not remarkable for either talents or information.—When we consider the customary mode of education amongst the higher classes of Irishmen, and all the various methods pursued to *anglicize* them, we must cease to wonder that patriotism and public virtue are so rare amongst our men of rank and fortune. In regard to the peasantry of Ireland, I know few national characters which so powerfully attract the admiration

miration of a liberal mind; but whilst we respect
 the talents, the courage, the hospitality, and gener-
 osity of our poor and unhappy countrymen, we must
 lament the unfortunate distortions of virtue, so fre-
 quently produced by ceaseless impolicy of treatment.
 However cruelly-harsh usage may have goaded
 human nature in Ireland, it has *not* "degraded the
 human character," and perhaps a day may yet ar-
 rise when this shall be demonstrated. But to return
 to the antiquity of my beloved country—It is ex-
 tremely difficult to trace the ancient, or indeed the
 modern history of our island, as it has ever been the
 custom of invaders to use their utmost exertions for
 the purpose of destroying every monument of anti-
 quity, and annihilating every vestige of former splen-
 dour, which might remind the subdued people that
 they had once possessed independence. Nothing so
 much conduces to the support of national virtue, as
 historical evidences of former celebrity. This the
 English knew but too well, and the effects of this
 knowledge has been fatally destructive to the docu-
 ments of Irish literature. However, they have not
 been so completely successful in their attempts to
 suppress every proof of the former cultivation and
 glory of this nation, but I may be authorized to as-
 sert, that the civilization of this isle was long anterior
 to that of Great Britain; that the arts and sciences
 were cultivated here, in very remote ages; that Ire-
 land was once remarkable for literary knowledge,
 and that multitudes of Irish manuscripts have been
 at various times destroyed by those merciless in-
 vaders, who endeavoured to barbarize a nation
 which

which they could not excel. In fact, the same paltry policy, and ignoble jealousy, have been observable in all their subsequent conduct; and even in this enlightened age they may, perhaps, be traced in the present project of a Legislative Union. It is to no purpose to contradict the assertions of ignorance; but I shall just recommend to the noble author the perusal of those works* which treat of ancient Ireland (and have at least as much claim to belief as those respecting other countries,) before he expects to gain credit when he affirms, that "all useful knowledge of it is coeval with English connexion!"

I know not what is meant by "criminal indulgence to *her colony*;" nor indeed can I discover the signification of many other phrases adopted in this publication; but the hacknied expression of "*her colony*" will not answer the purpose of the noble author, and may occasion observations of which he is not aware. It is no honour to the English to mark for their descendants, all those who are most tyrannical, unjust, mercenary, and mean; but I should be very willing to resign them to the parent by whom they are claimed, did I not think it necessary to expose the numerous misrepresentations, ignorances, and falsehoods, with which this detestable composition abounds. The hostile parties are not, by any means, such as the noble author appears to suppose, and endeavours to represent. They are not the Catholic and the Protestant, the Milesian and the

* Spencer's State of Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

Cromwellian, the first possessor and the second possessor of the land: No:—But I shall not presume to depict them. We do not reproach any man with the crimes of his ancestors; we do not oppose the children through resentment to the fathers; but we endeavour to resist the progress of those who would encroach upon our freedom. The ancient wars of Ireland, like all other civil wars, have been barbarous and inhuman; but it is difficult (indeed I might say impossible) to ascertain on which side the greatest cruelties were perpetrated, as each party accuses the other: however, all honest and unprejudiced persons must agree, that the crimes committed by men, fighting for the land which they had usurped, must be considered more atrocious than those of men fighting for the property of which they had been recently dispossessed. But it is of very little importance to the present question, in what manner their progenitors conducted themselves five or six hundred years ago; and I mention these circumstances merely to convince the noble author, that I am not unacquainted with those parts of Irish history to which his knowledge appears to be confined; and that I have read some of those works which he appears to consider authentic. For the information of certain persons who may chance to peruse these pages after the work of the noble author, I think it necessary to declare, that his endeavour to persuade his readers, that the late rebellion in this country proceeded from the ancient inhabitants, the Roman Catholics, the claimants of forfeited estates, is as base as his assertions are false and malevolent: and one
 very

very remarkable circumstance attendant on that event, is, that the only place where it assumed a formidable appearance was in the county of Wexford, the very part of our island where the first British invaders landed, and where the first British colony was established.

It is very possible that the greater part of the inhabitants of Ireland may be "intoxicated with visions of liberty," but the noble author errs extremely in supposing that they have been urged on to the pursuit of it "by foreign gold." However, as we are all very prone to form our opinions of others according to that which they have a right to form respecting us; and as the noble author evinces a particular attachment to arguments by analogy, we must not be surprised at the supposition*. The insinuations and assertions respecting the Catholics thirsting for revenge, are groundless and flagitious. A race of people, so peculiarly oppressed as the peasantry of Ireland, cannot fail to be discontented; but it is illiberal and malicious, indeed, to substitute the word *catholic* for *peasant*, upon every occasion. The Catholics are not all poor, nor are the poor all Catholics. However ignorant in many respects the noble author may be, he must know that all persons debarred the advantages of instruction, must be illiterate; and he cannot suppose that a protestant mob in England can, without educa-

* A creature that lets out his genius to hire, may sometimes have a very good one; but he must have a vile and beggarly soul, and his performances are, at the best, but the basest way of petitioning for alms.

Cato's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 198.

tion, acquire knowledge, liberality, and virtue, more rapidly than a papist mob in Ireland. It is truly melancholy to see religion so constantly made an excuse for the most mean, immoral, and atrocious deeds, and that Christianity * in particular, which we have every reason to consider the most favourable to peace, virtue, and happiness, should be so frequently rendered the tool of designing persons, devoid of any attachment to their neighbour, their country, or their God. I believe that, in material points, all reasonable and virtuous men must think alike; but unfortunately it generally happens that those people who talk most fluently on the subject of religion, are seldom possessed of enlarged minds, cultivated understandings, or pure intentions.

I do not imagine that the gilded bait of nominal emancipation, will now delude the Catholics, who have been too long learning in the school of adversity, to trust the promises of interested oppressors. But even if this were of such mighty importance, that the last remaining support of Irish independence was to be surrendered in exchange for it, what assurances shall we have that it will be granted after this *unnatural* Union? Who will support

* Even the Christian religion can do but little or no good in lands of tyranny, since miracles have ceased; but is made to do infinite harm, by being corrupted and perverted into a deadly engine in the hands of a tyrant and his impostors, to rivet his subjects chains, and to confirm them wretches, slaves, and ignorants. I cannot indeed say, that they have the Christian religion at all amongst them, but only use its amiable name to countenance abominable falsehoods, and nonsense, and heavy oppression.

Cato's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 94.

the Catholics in their claim to the fulfilment of these insidiously oblique promises? Who will compel the British Minister to the performance of these unguaranteed arguments? The well-educated class of Catholics are far superior to being "the dupes of priests, of foreigners, of political reformers, of parties, or promises;" nor do they look for that revenge which is supposed to be so delightful; and in regard to the uneducated portion of that sect, they cannot enjoy the high honour and supreme satisfaction of studying the noble author's transcendent productions. I should be glad to know who informed him of the *antipathies* subsisting between the inhabitants of Ireland descended from English settlers, and those descended from colonies from other nations; and I should also wish to know by what means he discovered, that the cattle houghed, the trees felled, the houses attacked, were only those of Protestants and the posterity of Britons. These falsehoods are too obvious to require contradiction; but I shall once more intreat the noble author to withhold his dreams from the eye of the public, or to have them printed as such; and would therefore recommend, that instead of imposing on mankind by giving his visions the sober title of "Considerations," he should have a new edition of his pamphlet published with the more applicable name of *Whims, Reveries, or Fancies*.

"*Divide et impera*," has long been the maxim of British Ministers, with regard to this kingdom; but those jugglers have played this trick so often,
that

that it ceases to produce its wonted effects, and consequently the noble author will find it difficult to revive under the novel appellations of "*Colonists and Natives*," the almost obsolete parties of *Orangemen* and *Papists*. It is now tolerably evident to all parties, for what purpose they were irritated and opposed to each other; and I believe I may venture to affirm that the Orangeman and the Papist are equally determined in their antipathy to the projected Union. It is not by oblique censures of the Orange party that the Catholics will be induced to support a measure replete with injuries to Ireland; nor is it by stigmatizing the name of Catholic, that the Orangemen will be cajoled to favour a plan so injurious to their country. Indeed we now have reason to hope, that both perceive the real causes of the efforts made to produce and promote dissensions amongst them, and that it will not again be in the power of designing villains with strong heads and cold hearts, to disunite men who must ever find it their true interest to consider each other as *friends and brethren*.

As I am only desirous of giving a brief answer to what relates to my own country, and have not besides, the same opportunities of acquiring accurate information respecting distant lands, I shall say very little on the subject of America, on which the noble author has favoured us with such a tedious dissertation; at the same time, that I must remark the same species of falsehood and malice in the observations on American, as in those on Irish affairs. I do not perceive that the American colonists who
"drove

"drove the savages behind the frontiers," have been in any degree more subservient than the Irish colonists who mixed with the people by whom the land was inhabited prior to their invasion; and I firmly believe that the only circumstance which has hitherto preserved the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, is the nature of that connexion, and the degree of apparent and nominal independence possessed by the last mentioned country. America was lost by being considered and treated as a dependant province, and Ireland may be lost by the same means. The analogy between Scotland and Ireland, is very obscure; and yet by what means has that part of the island of Great Britain been preserved to the crown of England, but by draining the country of its inhabitants and of its wealth? Whilst it possessed an appropriate portion of either, it was as prone to resistance as this country; but I believe it is now well known that great part of Scotland has very little means of rebelling, unless the mountains could be *disciplined*, and the rocks *organized*. The noble author in his copious disquisition on the affairs of Scotland, appears to have totally forgotten the *two rebellions* which have taken place in that country since the Union; but these, as *mere trifles*, are entirely omitted in this brilliant and elaborate narration.

However frequently and sneeringly the noble author may use the term "*English colonist*," it will never have the effect he intends to produce: on the contrary, there are very few among the inhabitants of Ireland who will not *scorn the appellation*;

tion; and if the noble author would export all those who despise the honourable name of Irishman, it would probably prove the most beneficial mode of restoring peace to this perturbed land. Irishmen really united (I do not mean to use the language of disaffection) could defy either England or France; and if ever the day arrives in which religion and political dissensions shall be annihilated, the inhabitants of this island will be equally adverse to French invasions, and British Unions; equally hostile to French troops landing with the avowed intention of effecting a revolution in the country, and British armies pouring in for the pretended purpose of protecting it from danger. The English Minister is little acquainted with the Irish spirit, if he does not perceive that he is laying the foundation of a complete revolution: he must know that Ireland is at this moment retained to the British empire by force of arms, and he cannot be ignorant (for he has been repeatedly warned, both here and in England) that until there is some attempt to conciliate the nation, he must continue to preserve the connexion with the sword. This may possibly be just what he desires, for this method of governing a nation, is the most favourable for a system of corruption. The task-masters of Ireland may furnish excuses for new taxes, and the *United Irishmen in London* for new penal laws; but in the midst of his ruinous career, let not the Minister forget that this species of connexion cannot continue long, and that even before the death of Pitt, the tie may be dissolved. The Minister, and his partizan the
noble

noble author, will find, that in regard to their favourite project, no efforts will have sufficient power to remove "*the deep-rooted prejudice of Ireland.*"

The question of "competency," has been so often and so ably discussed, that I am unwilling to enter on the subject; but as the noble author wishes to know, why the right of fixing the Constitution in 1782, was better than that of resigning the Irish Parliament in 1799? I will answer him—for the same reason that a man would have a better right to accept for his hungry child food than poison. The Parliament of Ireland had a better right to accept of the *final settlement of 1782*, first, because it was generally considered as a real and unequivocal benefit to the nation; and secondly, because that if it had proved to be an erroneous arrangement, the next Parliament would have had it in their power to correct and reform those parts which might require alteration. But in respect to the present plan, it is far different; first, because the measure appears to be generally deemed an undoubted and positive injury to the nation; and secondly, that it destroys every possibility of future revival or correction. When this pernicious measure shall be once fixed, we shall have no resource but in a revolution, and a revolution it will infallibly produce.* The noble

* Men will always feel their strength, when they cannot reason upon it, or are afraid to do so.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 126.

Those who have power, will endeavour to keep it, and those who suffer under it, will endeavour to take it away, and the event will be in the will of Heaven alone.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 134.

author calls "the final settlement of 1782," a "*fatal boon*;" and I, as a sincere friend to the true Irish independence, perfectly agree in the opinion. I think that had it not been for *that fatal boon*, which has for seventeen years preserved this country to the British empire, we should long since have been a free nation, enjoying all the natural and political blessings for which we appear to be so peculiarly adapted. Our harbours would be filled with ships, our towns with riches; our nobles would be virtuous, our peasants happy; our government would be just, our people contented; our friendship would be courted, our resentment feared. In short, the clouds of anarchy would be past, and the bright sun of peace would illumine our happy island. Good God! How melancholy the contrast!—I cannot trace the soul-revolting picture.—"That this final settlement was impossible to last"—I do not pretend to doubt; but that it has aided in preserving the connexion between England and Ireland longer than it would otherwise have continued, I have no doubt. A connexion between two countries so separated, must ever be unstable; for notwithstanding all the *tant* of the *fashionable loyalists*, it will always require an extraordinary degree of address to preserve a connexion so unnatural.

The noble author has taken infinite pains to demonstrate the iniquity of British Ministers, in their conduct to this country. He imagines that the time is arrived, when those offences may be safely displayed, and he fancies that the Irish mind will be so struck, that in the first paroxysm of horror at the deve-

development of this glaring injustice, it will plunge in the abyss of an Incorporate Union, as the only safeguard from future villainy. But he has entirely overlooked another train of ideas, which this exhibition of depravity may chance to produce in the minds of Irishmen, and which I do not think necessary to detail in this place. His catalogue of offences is certainly just—I attempt not to deny the multiplicity of placemen and pensioners; the venal titles, and the saleable peers; “the empire of the Custom-house,” and the prostitution of military honours. On the contrary, I rather believe these matters to be even worse than the noble author represents them; and I perfectly agree in opinion with him, that a remedy is desirable, but not an Union; for that is a remedy worse than the disease.

It is extremely absurd, and supposes a wonderful degree of ignorance in his readers, for the noble author to insinuate that the Irish Parliament has been peculiarly adverse to Catholic emancipation; as it is well known in this kingdom, that the ill success of that measure was entirely produced by the intrigues of British Ministers. The recal of Lord Fitzwilliam, and all the transactions immediately preceding and subsequent to that event, are too recent to be forgotten by Irishmen; and we are all well convinced, that even the present Parliament would be easily induced to accord those privileges desired by the Catholics of Ireland.* Was the repeal of so many penal laws, a matter “beyond

* If permitted by the Ministers.

the reach, controul, and authority of her independent Parliament? And is it probable, that those would have been repealed in an Imperial Senate?—Are the English people less prejudiced against the Catholics, or have they hitherto evinced more liberality than the Irish Parliament? If we are to judge by the present state of their penal code against the Catholics of England, and by the writings of such Englishmen as the noble author, we must consider them to be ignorant, malicious, and dishonest. The noble author affects to speak with great commiseration of the distresses of Ireland. The country may possibly be the scene of much misery, but the wretchedness of the inhabitants may also be much increased by an Union. He must allow that there are many degrees of wretchedness; if he does not, he knows little indeed of the Irish poor.

I do not exactly precisely comprehend the panegyrics on English manners, and cannot help considering those of the lower class as much less civilized than the manners of the Irish peasantry, who are generous and hospitable, and consequently civil and friendly to strangers. The noble author's oblique censures of the Orange party, will not produce the effect he imagines, of conciliating the Catholics; and I am well authorized to assure him, that some trifling concessions, in regard to a removal of the existing disqualifications, would have more power in soothing their dissatisfactions, than the keenest hopes of revenge; for his assertions respecting the "despair and revolt of the Catholics," are as thoroughly devoid of foundation as many of his other declarations.

I hope

I hope that all the inhabitants of Ireland will observe and remember, that the noble author has heard "an atrocious policy avowed in the public councils, by which they (the Irish) were to be armed and let loose upon one another." I hope the Protestant and the Catholic, the Orangeman and the United Irishman, will never forget this confession; that they will disappoint such sanguinary views, and elude such the invidious endeavours of their plausible tyrants. Amongst many other artful attempts in this shallow production, is that to reconcile the English by flattery and adulation of the grossest sort, to a measure, which is almost as injurious to their interests as to those of Ireland. But if they can be cajoled by the trite expressions of "great and generous nation," &c. &c. and the fulsome cant about "the virtues, the moderation, and the magnanimity of Britain," sufficiently to induce them to throw such a degree of power into the hands of a Minister, who has already disfigured the face of their once beautiful constitution, with the scars of despotism;* I shall only say that they are not the independent people I supposed them to be, and that the iron hand of power has injured them more than the Irish, by degrading their minds, and extinguishing that spirit of liberty which aggrandized their country, invigorated its commerce, and enriched its inhabitants. Do they suppose that the importation of sixty

* Alas! Power daily encroaches upon Liberty, with a success too evident; and the balance between them is almost lost.

ty or an hundred Irish mercenaries, will not add to their hourly-encreasing penal laws? Do they imagine that any Irishman, possessed of honest principles or public virtue, will ever be returned to the Imperial Parliament? Do they expect that men who sell the interests of their own country, will shew any forbearance towards theirs? No. Much as they are deceived, and great as the efforts are to delude them; they must be sensible that none of the "*Anglo-Irish*" Senators will ever consider any but their own individual interest. Men who have sacrificed the welfare of their own country, for the paltry compensation of a few thousands, a new name,* or a bit of ribbon, will not scruple to sacrifice that of another country with equal facility. I have no doubt of the sincerity with which the noble author would rejoice to see the island of Hibernia possessed of the same degree of independence as "Scotland is, or Yorkshire, or Cornwall;" but I still trust that there exists a sufficient virtue in the land, to reject, with contempt, the proffered boon.

As for the United Irishmen (whom the noble author, in page 43, seems to consider as a party distinct from the Catholics, though in other places he appears to suppose that all the Catholics are rebels, as well as all the rebels Catholics), I shall not attempt to vindicate their actions, or pretend to develop their motives; but the noble author has made so many false assertions in the course of this work, that it is not impossible that his account of the United

* Or *nick-name*, as Godwin very truly calls it.

Irishmen may be remote from the truth.* In future days, when the clouds of prejudice shall be dispelled, and the distortions of misrepresentation removed; when those who now exert their various talents for the advantage or destruction of their fellow creatures, shall be no more; when peace shall return to bless the earth, and events long past shall be considered with impartiality; the United men of Ireland will be judged according to their merits, and the clear voice of truth will be heard in their defence, or in their condemnation. Their motives, their intentions, and their errors, cannot now be discussed with any degree of justice or propriety—I shall therefore dismiss the subject.

It is very evident that the descriptions of persons on whom Ministers most fear and doubt their power of imposition, are the humane, moderate men of all sects, and the loyal Roman Catholics; a considerable body, whom they wish to attach to their party. The noble author imagines, that by affecting to believe all the Catholics disaffected, he will terrify the timid, and shock the courageous; by holding out the lure of complete emancipation, he will flatter the vain, and rouse the ambitious;

* Men have been ever deceived by good names, into an approbation of ill things, sanctified by those names. Imposture and delusion have been called religion; and thought so; oppression and rapine have been called government; and esteemed government; teachers have degenerated into deceivers, submission into slavery; without changing their names: power and right have been ever confounded; and success, or the want of success, has turned villainy into virtue, and virtue into villainy.

Cato's Letters, 2d Vol. p. 17.

and by expressing a detestation and abhorrence of the Orange faction and their offences, he will gratify the resentful, and cajole the benevolent. In short, it is very clear that he intends to deceive all parties, and to promote the impending Union, by opposing them to each other. But surely the loyal Catholics may prove their attachment to the existing Government, without meanly acceding to a measure detrimental to themselves and to their Protestant brethren; they may reasonably expect a speedy removal of their present disqualifications, from a Parliament which has already removed so many of their grievances; and they may hope to see the prejudices of the Orange party dispelled, without seeing Ireland degraded and destroyed. Indeed it is earnestly to be wished, that their common wrongs may annihilate their mutual dislikes; that they will cease to be the dupes of men who have excited dissensions between them, for the purpose of subjugating both parties; that the Catholic will remember that the Orangeman is his brother Irishman, and that the Orangeman will recollect that if the Constitution (established at the *glorious revolution*) which he has sworn to defend, be assailed by English Ministers, he is bound to oppose their endeavours. If the Constitution be injured, is it of any consequence whether it be by a Pope or a Prime Minister? And if we are to have innovations, should it make any difference to us whether they are introduced by an Irish Catholic or an English Protestant? For my own part, I consider the Orangemen to be the party principally bound

bound to oppose this threatened Union, and I most ardently hope that all descriptions, religious and political, will join in endeavouring to prevent a measure which will *injure each, and benefit none*. That there must be, in a land so populous as this, some villains who would wish to enrich themselves by the destruction of their fellow-creatures, I am ready to admit; but I flatter myself for the honor of my beloved country, that those monsters are only a small number. This small number, the noble author appears (in page 44) to claim as the "British colony," and I have no wish to dispute with him the honor and advantage of their affinity. I am contented to resign them to him, and to denominate the *remaining* inhabitants of Ireland "*native Irish*," and *my brethren*.

To you, my Catholic brethren, I address myself in particular, intreating you to remark and remember that the noble author says, that "revenge and the hope of prey, are your undisguised motives; and you are only so far less absurd or less guilty than the colonist he has described, as you believe yourselves to have a right, according to the laws of imprescriptibility, to possess the lands, which no time, no length of possession can alienate, no acquiescence transfer; and you rely for your hope of success upon a Government, which as it were from the very centre and focus of robbery, adopts and assists every species of plunder, every attack upon every possession, every inno-

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"*vation*"* of right, and principle, and law, and pro-
 "perty." Behold, my brethren, the character
 given of you by an *authorized ministerialist*—and
 will you not oppose to the utmost of your power,
 the pernicious measure which such a person wishes,
 and exerts himself to recommend? Were there
 no other or better motive for your opposing
 this injurious project, I should think this a sufficient
 cause. Do not, my friends, allow yourselves to be
 duped by *unclaimable* promises, or intimidated by
 false accusations; do not suffer a feigned liberality,
 or an assumed benevolence, to impose on your un-
 derstandings; and above all things, do not concur in
 the revival of invidious stigmas, and destroying pre-
 judices.

I must assure the noble author, that amongst his
 multitudinous mistakes, none is more conspicuous
 than that into which he has plunged, respecting the
 Roman Catholics of Ireland; amongst whom those
 who are capable of perusing his elaborate perform-
 ance, are in general infinitely superior to him in libe-
 rality and knowledge of their native country; and
 those who are in point of ignorance and bigotry, on
 a level with the noble author, have not been so for-
 tunate as to receive the degree of education requi-
 site for enabling them to profit by his labours. The
 poor illiterate peasant, who believes that he has a
 better chance of salvation by going to *Chapel* than to
Church; who thinks the *Priest* a more holy man

* If this be true, *sympathy* should induce the British Minister to treat the
 Government here mentioned with some degree of tenderness.

than the *Parson*, and cannot die in peace, unless *prepared by his clergy*—is utterly incapable of comprehending the eloquent and pathetic enumeration of miseries produced and produceable, by the want of a Legislative Union with Great Britain. And the enlightened Catholic, who is above the meanness of bigotry, who approves of the good moral principles of all religions, and though attached to his own particular tenets, neither decries nor ridicules those of his neighbour—is infinitely beyond the reach of the noble author's ingenuity. Another of this author's falsehoods, I must also point out, though I believe there are few among the Irish, and not many even in England, who will not know the assertion to be devoid of truth; I mean where he declares that the United Irishmen (or their Chiefs) "will accept of nothing but this very Catholic Republic, under the protection of the Atheist Republic." The noble author possesses a most capacious credulity, if he really believes either that a "Catholic Republic" was ever proposed in Ireland, or that "an Atheist Republic" exists. The first I know to be false; the other I believe to be equally so. The noble author also mistakes extremely, if he supposes that the lower class of Irish rebels were led away by any religious quixotism, or that their discontents proceeded from "the cruel power of artifice and design, upon the devout and agitated bosom of poor and honest ignorance, sacrificing all things, suffering all things, and daring all things in the cause supposed of religion." The Irish peasants are too acute for this species of imposition,

tion, and the most enlightened amongst them, those least acquainted with the causes of their insurrection, would probably inform him that they "went with the boys, because their neighbours *Pat*, and *Darby*, and *Shemos* went, and because *if the boys got the better, they were to pay no tythes.*" In many places where the late rebellion assumed the appearance of a religious war (Great God! that religion should be so mentioned!) the hatred visible was to the Orangeman, not to the Protestant, or occasionally to a Protestant, only because he was supposed to be of the Orange party, who some years ago drove four thousand Catholic families from their homes—a fact well known in every part of Ireland. The Orangemen were originally the Protestant mob of Armagh; the Defenders the Papist mob. Government feared their union, and considering the Orange party (from being supposed professed friends to revolutionary principles) the most dangerous, adopted the method which has since been pursued, of protecting and countenancing them in opposition to the other party; by which means they have been rendered the dupes of designing men, who regard their welfare as little as the welfare of the Papist mob, to whom they would be sacrificed in their turn, did Ministers expect to derive any advantage from the change.

In general I disapprove of introducing into publications like this the sacred subject of religion, but I cannot on the present occasion refrain from reminding the Catholic, the Protestant, the Presbyterian, and every other sect of Christians, that two
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of the principal maxims inculcated by the founder of their religion, are comprized in these two sentences, "*Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you,*" and "*A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another,*"—Are these the principles of persecuting sectaries? Do these resemble the tenets of political religionists? Are these the axioms of ministerial bigotry? No! my brethren, these are the principles of charity, of kindness, of brotherly love.—This is the religion of which so many talk, so few understand, and still fewer practice.—This is the spirit of that faith, by which I should wish to see every sect of Irishmen influenced.—This is the religion which would render all good and all happy.—I will not "use hard words," and shall therefore overlook the acrimonious observations of the noble author, and avoid any enquiries into the true and original causes of the "foul, unrelenting, common mockery of both persuasions."

I do not understand what the noble author can mean by the "real, necessary, and indefeasible dependance" of Ireland; nor can I discover why Ireland should be thought more naturally dependant than other countries of the same dimensions, possessing similar advantages, and separated by the *unbribeable* ocean from all other lands. I deny the necessity of her dependance, at the same time that

* Christianity would fare never the worse if its professors were less politicians.

I perfectly agree in the propriety of her connexion with Great Britain; *while she finds it conducive to her advantage, or profitable to her interest.* In fact, *the only natural* bond of union between the two countries is that of *mutual interest*, and nothing but the continuance of this interest can preserve the connexion. The noble author tells us very candidly, "that the present order cannot last, and ought not to be re-established, arises out of the state dangers and *necessities of England herself.*" Can any thing more clearly elucidate the true inducements to this *beneficent* offer? Can any thing more plainly demonstrate that the *real* motive for endeavouring to procure this alteration at a time so improper, and under circumstances so unpromising, is that the resources of Ireland are necessary for the support of Great Britain; and as it is impossible to proceed in this destroying war, without the ruin of some part of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, the Minister prefers the destruction of Ireland *first*? If the people of England know their own interest, they will exert themselves in opposing a measure which deserves to be as unpopular with them, as it is amongst the Irish: for *unpopular* it is, and ever must be in this country, notwithstanding the assertions of ignorance, the declarations of corruption, and the unceasing efforts of place-men, pensioners, and borough merchants.

The noble author has taken infinite trouble to prove that the present connexion between Great Britain and Ireland cannot continue, but he has not contrived to demonstrate that any other connexion
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between these nations would be more beneficial; and although the pains he has taken to shew us the miseries, dangers, and disadvantages of our present situation have perfectly succeeded, he has not been equally fortunate in convincing us of the necessity, the convenience, or the expediency of the proffered Union. I entirely agree with the noble author in thinking that *something* * is necessary; but not an Union—A reform in parliament is necessary—Catholic emancipation is necessary—Modification of tythes is necessary—Conclusion of the war is necessary—Re-establishment of the British constitution of 1688 is necessary—Repeal of a multiplicity of new penal laws is necessary—Many other things are necessary—But, a Legislative Union between the two islands, is *not* necessary—A Legislative Union will destroy the goodwill of the two nations towards each other—A Legislative Union will annihilate the influence of the people, and emancipate ministers from the authority of the law.—In fine, a Legislative Union will place the whole power of government in the hands of a few gigantic despots †.

* The way to cure people of their fears, is not to frighten them farther, but to remove the causes of their fears. If the kingdom be disaffected, let enquiry be made into the motives of that disaffection.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 219.

When the causes of general discontent are removed, particular discontents will signify nothing.

Page 220.

† It is the nature of power to be ever encroaching, and converting every extraordinary power, granted at particular times, and upon particular occasions, into an ordinary power, to be used at all times, and where there is no occasion; nor does it ever part willingly with any advantage.

Cato's Letters, 3d Vol. p. 327.

It

It is absurd to compare Scotland with Ireland.— Scotland and England make one island, in point of situation, commercial advantages, soil, and climate, the latter is superior to the former. Ireland, on the contrary, in point of situation, climate, soil, and capabilities for trade, is equal (in some respects superior) to England. I cannot perceive of what advantage it would be to Ireland to have a servile, artful, and ambitious native of this country pursuing his own interest in the British Cabinet, or how it would benefit this country to have him reproached with being an Irishman. Would this produce any commercial advantages to our cities? Would this occasion any civilization in our provinces? Would the prostituted talents of a selfish and crafty schemer redound to our honour or add to our prosperity? even though the influence of this Irishman in the British Cabinet were “the burden of English jealousy, the theme of constant invective, and sometimes of deep and serious accusation.” That England has often been accused “of injustice, unkindness, and prejudice against the united kingdom” of Scotland, a very slight inquiry will convince the noble author—but this is of no very material consequence to Ireland.*

* As to the cant word of *Jacobin*; I find it as difficult to comprehend, as the noble author finds the word *Ireland*. One time the advocates for *rational liberty* are called by this name; another time it is bestowed on the abettors of *the worst of tyranny*. To-day, I am told that the friends of the *real* British Constitution are *Jacobins*; to-morrow, I shall hear this appellation given to the *partizans* of the *ferocious Robespierre*. In some places *anarchy* is called the work of *Jacobins*; in others, *reform* is delineated as their deed. As I know not in what light it may please the noble author to view this hacknied expression, I refrain from replying to his remarks on the subject.

It

It is melancholy to talk of an Union by way of experiment. If the experiment should prove detrimental, what is the remedy?—The catalogue of horrors which the noble author gives in pages 58 and 59, is almost the only part of his work which contains much truth; and how the Union is to remove all those miseries, is quite beyond the comprehension of my vulgar Irish understanding.

I think the noble author perfectly right in recommending the complete emancipation of the Catholics; and I sincerely hope that the Parliament of Ireland will convince the world that they are not afraid of their Catholic brethren, and would rather share political privileges with them, than be engulfed in the vortex of a British Senate. I deny that it is "more prudent and more natural for this independent Parliament to melt into the Imperial, than to receive the Catholic Parliament:" it is "more prudent, more natural," and far more expedient, to admit their Catholic brethren, men who are interested in the welfare of Ireland, with themselves, and who will be doubly interested in it by such an arrangement, to a participation of their Legislative rights, than to sacrifice those rights at the shrine of a British Minister, who has ever shewn an antipathy to their country, who has plunged the British dominions in all the horrors of war, and deluged the earth with blood. The Catholic enemy to the Union expects emancipation from the Parliament of his native country; and, after all that has been accorded to him within the last ten years, he is well warranted in expecting a farther extension of privileges. From the

British Parliament he has no reason to hope for similar advantages, for if that Parliament would not grant emancipation to the handful of English Catholics, why should we expect them to demonstrate more liberality and kindness towards the multitude who profess that faith in Ireland? Again I must express my ardent wishes, that the Catholics may not be intimidated by artful threatenings of suspected disloyalty; and I sincerely hope the day will soon arrive when all invidious distinctions shall be destroyed; when "the United Irishmen shall not remain to be put down, or to be put out by the Colonial Parliament, or by the Imperial;" and when peace, happiness, virtue, and prosperity shall again illumine Ireland.

June 30th, 1799.

THE END.

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